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Conclusions: "A Famous Victory?"

Following Iraqi acceptance of the military cease-fire in the field on 3 March, Third Army and its assigned forces became responsible for three different and often conflicting missions: to occupy southeastern Iraq until a United Nations permanent cease-fire was effected; to provide emergency support to Kuwait until relieved by a Department of Defense Reconstruction Assistance Office; and to begin redeployment of U.S. Army forces immediately, in keeping with the commitment Secretary of Defense Cheney made to the king of Saudi Arabia on 6 August 1990. As General Yeosock observed, these missions required ARCENT to go in three different directions at once, and they were complicated even further when civil unrest produced massive numbers of displaced persons in northern Iraq along the Turkish border and around Basrah. These refugees had to be supported, at least with the means of life, and arrangements had to be made to turn them over to a protecting power. (See figure 34.)

The United States committed relief forces to northern Iraq under control of the U.S. European Command. Third Army was tasked to support this effort, Operation Provide Comfort, by providing resources and even redirecting the movement of some units from the Desert Storm redeployment to Turkey and northern Iraq. Meanwhile, U.S. troop strength in Saudi Arabia dropped rapidly each day. Upon the departure of General Schwarzkopf in April, Yeosock became CENTCOM's deputy commander in chief until his own departure on 12 May. General Pagonis then remained in Saudi Arabia to see to the evacuation of remaining U.S. personnel and equipment. Iraqi forces in the Basrah pocket were allowed to withdraw north of the Euphrates River following the cease-fire. U.S. forces did not become involved in the popular uprising against the Baghdad regime that raged in Basrah in early March.

President Bush laid down U.S. objectives for the postwar settlement in his address to the joint session of Congress on 7 March.[1] These provided for a shared responsibility for regional security, the control of Iraq's access to weapons of mass destruction, a commitment to leave no residual ground force in the area, but to conduct joint military exercises, the maintenance of a naval presence, and a search for new opportunities for peace. Related to this were seven military objectives: (1) defend and rebuild Kuwait; (2) orient, support, and hand off a demilitarized zone to a United Nations Command; (3) protect and

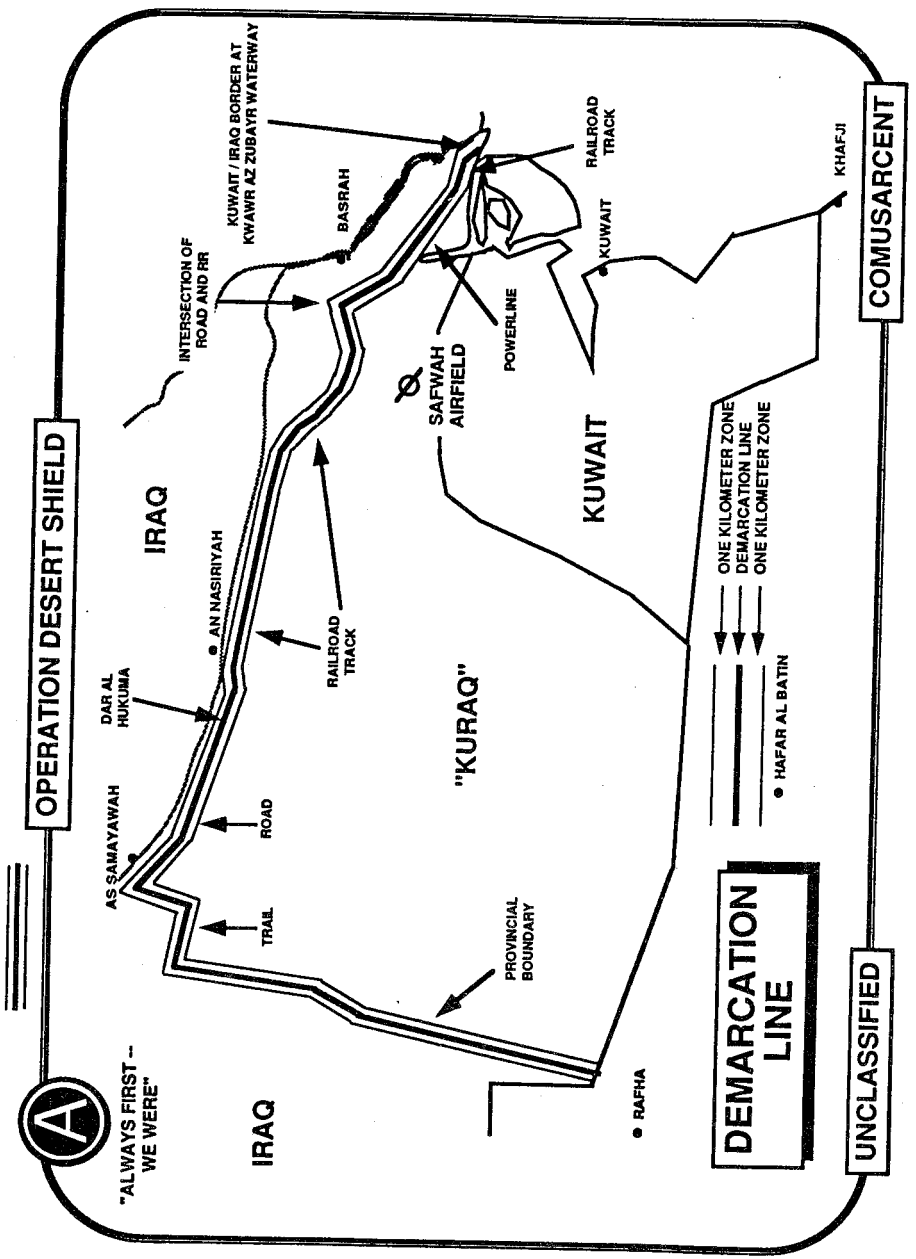

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
"ALWAYS FIRST -- WE WERE"
IRAQ
AS SAMAYAWAH
DAR AL HUKUMA
AN NASIRIYAH
TRAIL
ROAD
RAILROAD TRACK
INTERSECTION OF ROAD AND RR
KUWAIT / IRAQ BORDER AT KWAWR AZ ZUBAYR WATERWAY
BASRAH
"KURAQ"
PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY
SAFWAH AIRFIELD
POWERLINE
KUWAIT
RAILROAD TRACK
KUWAIT
KHAFJI
ONE KILOMETER ZONE
DEMARCATION LINE
ONE KILOMETER ZONE
HAFAR AL BATIN
RAFHA
DEMARCATION LINE
COMUSARCENT
UNCLASSIFIED

Figure 34.

support displaced civilians, ultimately to turn their care over to our regional allies; (4) leave some residual force in Kuwait temporarily; (5) conduct redeployment; (6) prepare equipment left behind in the region; and (7) capture the experience of Desert Shield-Desert Storm.[2]

To provide for emergency aid to Kuwait, Yeosock established an army task force, Task Force Freedom, under command of his deputy, Major General Bob Frix, using the mobile CP, "Lucky Wheels," as task force headquarters. The mobile CP left King Khalid Military City almost immediately after the cessation of offensive actions and moved to Kuwait City, first, to the international airport, then, to some Kuwaiti administrative offices. Task Force Freedom was a command and control element whose mission was to "ensure unity of effort in the restoration and reconstruction of Kuwait and provide for the transition of responsibility to the Secretary of the Army."[3] For Kuwaiti reconstruction, the Army secretary was to act as the executive agent of the secretary of defense. The secretary formed a special office, the U.S. Defense Reconstruction Assistance Office, to accomplish that effort under direction of Major General Patrick Kelly, an Army engineer.

Task Force Freedom saw to the process of damage assessment, provision of emergency services, explosive ordnance disposal (EOD) (necessary to clear mines and booby traps), disposition of civil affairs support, and contracting required to get the reconstruction effort on its feet. Its mission was short-term—to provide emergency support only. The principal elements of the task force were the 352d Civil Affairs Command,[4] a forward element of the 22d Support Command, and various specialist organizations: EOD detachments; military police; and medical, signal, and intelligence units. In occupied Iraq, VII and XVIII Corps were responsible for the requisite civil affairs duties and the destruction of war materiel left in place by the retreating Iraqi Army.[5] Third Army was also responsible for the repatriation of Iraqi prisoners in U.S. hands. This was done through the Saudi military.

The United States ultimately transferred 20,989 Iraqi refugees to the Saudis for long-term care and protection. Yeosock turned over the mission in the demilitarized zone to the United Nations Command on 6 May and removed the last U.S. soldier from southeastern Iraq on 9 May. The redeployment was conducted as rapidly as possible by bringing heavy equipment to central maintenance areas, cleaning and securing it, and turning it over to the 22d Support Command for movement based upon availability of shipping. Personnel were redeployed much faster by air, beginning on 10 March when Third Army stood at a strength of 298,293 soldiers. On 8 June, ARCENT had

reached a state of 24,000 soldiers and dropped to 15,300 by 1 August, a year from the start of the crisis.

Yeosock and his headquarters departed for Fort McPherson, Georgia, on 12 May, after a somewhat longer absence than the general had expected when called by Schwarzkopf the previous August. A residual American presence was retained for a time in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, principally to evacuate the American equipment and guarantee the security of the emirate. Some additional air defense units were deployed later to protect various Saudi sites when Iraq tried to stonewall UN cease-fire monitors. A year later, no end had been declared to Operation Desert Storm, and the naval and economic isolation of Iraq continued.

The commanders of Desert Storm dispersed back to the Army. Schwarzkopf was welcomed back to Florida by Mickey Mouse and to the United States by a joint session of Congress. He attended parades, signed a multimillion dollar book contract, retired, and went on the high-dollar speaking circuit—seldom, it seems, feeling obliged to recognize the assistance he may have received from his senior assistants in obtaining his triumph. Lieutenant General Yeosock returned to his duties as Deputy Commander in Chief, Forces Command, and Commander, Third Army. He retired from the Army in July 1992 and remained in the Atlanta area. Lieutenant General Gary Luck returned to Fort Bragg and continued as commander of XVIII Airborne Corps. He was later promoted to full general and appointed U.S. commander in chief in Korea.

The VII Corps returned to Germany. The "Jay Hawk" corps was deactivated in the spring of 1992 but not before Lieutenant General Frederick Franks was given a fourth star and appointed Commander, U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command. As TRADOC commander, Franks paid particular attention to incorporating the lessons of Desert Storm into Army doctrine and focusing attention on what he called "battle command" and "battle space," the essential tasks and horizons of tactical commanders.

Lieutenant General William ("Gus") Pagonis, who had received his third star in theater in recognition of his accomplishments, remained in Saudi Arabia commanding ARCENT Forward. He subsequently was appointed to command the 21st Support Command in Europe. From there, he retired from the Army to direct logistic operations for Sears Roebuck, and Company. Lieutenant General Calvin Waller, the deputy commander in chief, and Major General Paul Schwartz, the chief of C3IC, both returned to Fort Lewis,

Washington, from whence they had been called to the Middle East, Waller as I Corps commander, Schwartz as his deputy. Both retired within the year.

Major Generals J. H. Binford Peay III, commander of the 101st Airborne Division; Ron Griffith, commander of the 1st Armored Division; and Barry McCaffrey, commander of the 24th Infantry Division, were promoted to lieutenant general, McCaffrey after an additional year as commander of the 24th Division. Peay became Army deputy chief of staff for operations and, then, after being promoted to full general, vice chief of staff of the Army. Griffith was appointed the Army inspector general. McCaffrey was first the special assistant to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, then J3 (operations), after which he, like Peay, received his fourth star and was sent to Panama as Commander in Chief, U.S. Southern Command. Major General Paul Funk, who had commanded the 3d Armored Division, was posted to the Joint Staff for a year and then to the Armor Center as commandant.

Major General Tom Rhame took his 1st Infantry Division back to the United States. He soon quickly returned to Saudi Arabia to the U.S. Military Training Mission. After a year, he was joined by his old G3, Colonel Terry Bullington. Rhame was later promoted to lieutenant general and assigned to the Department of Defense to administer security assistance programs. The 1st Division's assistant division commander, Brigadier General Bill Carter, was first given command of the Army's National Training Center at Fort Irwin; after promotion to major general, he succeeded to command of the 1st Armored Division in Germany. Colonel Don Holder, commander of the 2d Armored Cavalry Regiment in VII Corps, was promoted to brigadier general and posted to a NATO staff. He was later promoted to major general and command of the 3d Infantry Division. Major General Johnnie Johnson, who commanded the first division deployed, the 82d Airborne, was promoted to lieutenant general and given command of First Army. Major General John Tilelli returned to Fort Hood, Texas, with his 1st Cavalry Division and then became first assistant deputy chief of staff for operations at Department of the Army, then, as lieutenant general, the deputy chief of staff of operations. Major General Pete Taylor, the multihatted chief of staff of Forces Command, was promoted to lieutenant general and given command of III Corps at Fort Hood. He was succeeded at III Corps by General Funk.

The Third Army headquarters returned almost immediately to its prewar strength, notwithstanding the need to man a cell in General Pagonis' Saudi establishment. Major General Frix remained as deputy

commander. Later, he was transferred to Sixth Army in the same role. Major General Steve Arnold received a well-deserved appointment as commander of the Army's 10th Mountain Division. In the next two years, he would take his division to Miami, Florida, to provide hurricane relief, and to Somalia to participate in the peace-keeping operation, Restore Hope. In 1994, after a tour at Department of the Army, Arnold assumed command of Third Army.

Brigadier General John Stewart was promoted to major general and became deputy chief of staff for intelligence for U.S. Army, Europe, and then commandant of the Intelligence School. Brigadier General Jim Monroe, the stalwart ARCENT G4, finally was able to take up the appointment at Tank Automotive Command in Detroit, to which he had been on his way in August 1990. He, too, would be promoted to major general, become deputy commander of Tank Automotive Command, then, commandant of the Ordnance Center and its school.

Within a year, Third Army would turn over almost all of its "proprietary" colonels and lieutenant colonels. Most would retire. Colonel Joe Purvis, who had headed Schwarzkopf's "Jedi Knights," returned to his assignment in Hawaii, no longer an anonymous colonel. He retired within two years to build houses in Florida.

General Gordon Sullivan who, as vice chief of staff, was the constant presence with the senior officers in Desert Storm, became chief of staff of the Army following the retirement of General Carl Vuono in the summer of 1991. Sullivan, whose daily phone calls to Army general officers in the desert were frequent and always encouraging, took as his task the maintenance of the service's core values and purposes during a period of dramatic reduction. A deeply sensitive and patriotic soldier, Sullivan sought during his tenure as chief to infuse the nation's senior service with his optimism and sense of the obligations of service in "America's Army."

General Crosbie Saint, the Army's premier tanker, had missed the biggest armored war of his career and retired as commander in chief of USAREUR in July 1992. Fate is not always kind.

Reflections on Desert Storm

Wars, particularly limited and coalition wars, are seldom entirely satisfactory to any one participant. As a member of a coalition, a state is not a free agent but must be willing to give way to the sensitivities of its allies, not just for reasons of noblesse oblige but for pragmatic considerations. In a coalition, one has goals of one's own, the

accomplishment of which depend upon the cooperation of others whose own purposes may be compatible but by no means identical. Limited wars, in their turn, rarely make the enemy disappear, and though some behavior or status may be changed, the underlying issues that caused the war in the first place are generally submerged rather than resolved by the outcome. Great battles and campaigns have a way of being disappointing in their aftermath, hence little Peterkin's question: "But what good came of it at last?" To which Robert Southey has Old Kaspar reply: "Why that I cannot tell. . . . But 'twas a famous victory."[6] This seems to be the current fate of the victory of Desert Storm after the debris of the parades have been cleared up and the thousands of citizen-soldiers who answered the nation's call in 1990 have returned to their workaday lives.

But one ought not to let defeat be torn from the jaws of victory simply because that victory took place in a world where success is rarely complete or perfect. Desert Shield-Desert Storm was a famous victory, and if, like the Battle of Blenheim of which Southey wrote, it failed to return perpetual peace to the region in which it occurred, it is difficult not to believe the world is better off because there was a rapid and effective response to Saddam Hussein's seizure of Kuwait.

Desert Storm prevented Iraq's potential seizure of a disproportionate amount of the developed world's oil supply. Also, Saddam Hussein's Iraq does not stand at the brink of becoming a nuclear power, and Iraq's sustained defiance in the face of continued diplomatic and economic isolation surely vitiates any remaining faith that military action could have been dispensed with. In short, the region, if not the world, seems a safer place because Desert Storm was successful.

Still, new and dangerous problems have replaced the old. These, most sadly, have proved less susceptible to the Desert Storm solution. At least one, that in Somalia, was in a single armed engagement about as costly as the four-day Desert Storm ground offensive. The battle in Mogadishu on 3 October 1993 produced two Congressional Medals of Honor and ended in a rapid withdrawal of U.S. forces. The experience in Somalia underlines a suspicion about the limited value of conventional military forces in circumstances of civic collapse. The case of North Korea has been no less resistant to the Desert Storm solution. The world's last Stalinist regime has replaced Iraq as the principal pathologically hostile power threatening the strategic balance in a region deemed vital to U.S. interests. But the risks involved with miscalculation are greater than they were in the Persian Gulf, and to date, the U.S. response has been measured to say

the least. U.S. memories of the Korean War are not such as to encourage hasty action in any event, Desert Storm notwithstanding.

One could draw any number of insights from the experience of the Gulf War. Here, I shall offer those having to do with the structure of war, the implications of technology, the significance of generalship, and the apparent implications for concepts of war in whatever new world order emerges. Many of these insights are based upon a supposition, quite possibly to be proven wrong in the end, that the "new world order" will not be an era of global superpowers but a global system of regions. In some regions, there may be dominant but not hegemonic powers, where, if local allies can be had, an external power or an alliance capable of projecting military power may play a balancing role to further or protect national interests. Without a new ideological divide, such alliances will be ad hoc. Wars will seldom involve the overthrow of a contending power, because the intervening powers or alliances will seldom have the will to reorder the region once the immediate problem is solved or to accept the consequences of leaving a power vacuum that might be filled by an even worse successor. If this set of assumptions is true, then Desert Shield-Desert Storm will serve as a significant signpost. If, instead, a new cold war emerges or if the United States is forced to become involved in inchoate communal wars such as those in the Balkans, these lessons will have no more utility than those of the Franco-Prussian War had for the men of 1914.

The structure of war discussed in this book has involved principally four levels of activity: (1) what B. H. Liddell Hart called grand strategy; (2) what might be called theater strategy; (3) operational art as defined in the Army's FM 100-5, *Operations* (1986); and (4) J. F. C. Fuller's (or Jomini's) grand tactics. These levels encompass the activities of the executive branch of government, the theater commander, the component or army headquarters, and the operations of the major ground maneuver forces, the corps. In the actions of each, there are classic theoretical principles or concepts that found reconfirmation in the world in 1990–91.

Perhaps no more complete success was achieved in the Persian Gulf War than that in the field of grand strategy. Liddell Hart wrote that the role of grand strategy is "to coordinate and direct all the resources of a nation towards the attainment of the political object of the war—the goal defined by national policy."[7] It is grand strategy that provides the context and sets the limits within which the military must operate, and in this, President George Bush, Secretary of State James Baker, and Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney proved

themselves masters of their trade. It is hard to think of a war in which diplomatic and military actions have been better harmonized. The administration was able to simplify greatly the ambiguity within which the soldier operated. It did so by isolating Iraq and branding it as an outlaw state, by calling into existence a global and regional alliance in which, nonetheless, there were only two dominant members, and by achieving the mandate of the United Nations without tying military actions to that body.

The president allocated more than sufficient means and provided clear guidance as to what he wanted done militarily. It was he who decided when military operations would begin and when they would end, consistent with the requirements of policy, coalition politics, and the safety of the forces involved. Ultimately, it was the balance maintained between the military and diplomatic fields that ensured the conditions at the end of the war would be significantly better than those that might have obtained had it never been fought. That is the true measure of acceptability for the decision to commit political questions to resolution by the sword.

Within this general proposition, there are a number of observations that might be made. First of all, there is the revalidation of Clausewitz' critical distinction between real war and, for want of a better term, "ideal" war. The Army had always tended to underestimate the possibility of a land war in the Persian Gulf because it was clear that major land forces could not be dispatched there in time to stop an aggressor already on the spot. This reasoning was sound. It took almost three months before the Army had a significant force capable of undertaking sustained operations should they be required. By then, Kuwait was lost, and indeed, in August 1990, the operation, viewed in strictly military terms, seemed highly risky if Saddam did have designs on Saudi oil fields.

But Clausewitz pointed out over a century ago that enemies were not unknown to each other. "From the enemy's character, from his intentions, the state of his affairs and his general situation, each side, using the *laws of probability*, forms an estimate of its opponent's likely course and acts accordingly."[8] In August 1990, the problem was no longer abstract but practical, an estimate could be made, the risk gauged, and action taken based upon that assessment. "When war is no longer a theoretical affair, but a series of actions obeying its own peculiar laws," wrote Clausewitz, "reality supplies the data from which we can deduce the unknown that lies ahead."[9]

Saddam, driven by economic, historical, and geographical imperatives, likely set out merely to seize a province.[10] Whatever his intentions, which were only subject to informed supposition or judgment, he then posed a threat to global economics, the regional balance of power, and the territorial integrity of Saudi Arabia. There was risk in the short term for President Bush if he intervened, but its dimensions were knowable or at least calculable. Similarly, there were risks for Saddam Hussein in the long run, and his loss, no less than the American president's success, reminds us that in any probability of success, there is a possibility of failure. To rephrase Bernard Brodie only slightly, nations do not go to war because they think war is safe. They go to war because they think they will win. In this, they are often mistaken.[11]

The second grand strategic observation one might make of the Persian Gulf War lies in the recognition by the Bush administration that there are significant limits on the utility of a state's military power as a means to resolve international problems, even when one is the world's only remaining superpower. Unmatched military might is not useful if it cannot be brought to bear and if its use is deemed to be illegitimate by the rest of the world. In short, a sole superpower has an inherent obligation not to bring against itself the combined opposition of the rest of the world, rather as democratic Athens did in the Peloponnesian War.[12]

The willing participation of Saudi Arabia in any U.S. military actions was absolutely essential to the achievement of U.S. goals. First of all, Saudi Arabia provided the base from which a land and aerial attack could be launched. Second, and no less vital, the participation of the Saudi king, with his religious as well as political stature in the Arab world, went far, indeed, toward legitimizing the U.S. coalition efforts against a major leader in the Arab world. One need only look at the position in which the king of Jordan found himself, with the support for Saddam in his streets, to recognize the importance of this Saudi contribution and of the concomitant obligation of U.S. forces not to take any action that would rebound on their hosts, either by exceeding the UN mandate or remaining in the peninsula beyond their welcome.

These were matters of high policy in which Schwarzkopf, as well as the Third Army commander, found themselves involved continuously. Even the commander of the 7th U.K. Armored Brigade, the first British commitment to Desert Shield, wrote of his own diplomatic burden upon arriving in the peninsula.[13] Judgments about the decision to end the war when the president did, to stop military

action short of requiring the removal of Saddam Hussein, to accommodate Saudi cultural norms, and to depart rapidly without complaint can be made only in light of these limits. The lesson for the future is that even sole superpowers cannot have things their own way in a world they can influence but not dominate. Saudi Arabia is still a long way from the port of Savannah.

An effective U.S. theater strategy was indispensable in the Gulf War. By theater strategy is meant the purposeful integration of military resources in the theater of war to achieve the military objectives set by the president and his secretary of defense. This integration is achieved largely by concept, structure, and process: concept in providing a clear design for the combined actions of the forces deployed; structure by establishment of a command and control organization capable of achieving the concept; and process in development of a common plan for all forces to serve as the basis of all subsequent actions. In this, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf gets very high marks indeed.

As commander in chief, Schwarzkopf had two essential tasks, one political, one military. The political task was to create, where none existed, a reasonably effective military coalition, first to defend Saudi Arabia, then to free Kuwait. His military task as U.S. unified commander was to harmonize the activities of U.S. forces in such a way that each contributed its own unique form of power to a synergistic whole. He also had to develop a unified plan of operations and see to a reasonably harmonious execution of that plan to achieve the assigned military objectives at the least cost to the American people. It is clear that Schwarzkopf succeeded in both roles. While he was aided greatly by his component commanders, each in their own sphere, there is no question that it was the CINC himself upon whom the greatest burden for allied and joint service cooperation ultimately fell. Given his normal lack of patience, the coalition task, carried out over many months of intense pressure, clearly called for expenditure of vast reserves of self-discipline that seem never to have failed him when dealing with allies.

The theater strategy varied as the mission evolved. Initially, U.S. military action consisted of a naval blockade to isolate Iraq from external support by sea, with overland commerce also closed off by the diplomatic encirclement achieved through the United Nations—Jordan excepted. To back up this blockade and to increase pressure on Iraq to depart Kuwait voluntarily, air and ground forces were sent to Saudi Arabia, lest the desert kingdom's role as a principal coalition member provoke Iraq into extending its offensive farther south. The

dynamic process of introducing various types of U.S. forces in the force deployment process was the practical manifestation of this part of theater strategy. What often looked at the corps level as interference in their deployment was, in fact, Schwarzkopf and his component commanders manipulating the deployment flow as they became aware of new requirements or local capabilities that permitted substitution of one capability for another.

As part of the deterrent strategy in the peninsula, Schwarzkopf quickly built up an unanswerable offensive air plan that required change only in scale and detail once an air-ground offensive option was developed to free Kuwait. For the defensive phase of the Gulf War (Desert Shield), a defensive ground force was constructed and placed into positions behind the Gulf Cooperation Council forces already facing the Iraqis. Required to develop an offensive strategy to free Kuwait, Schwarzkopf was able to build on his original air concept to add an offensive ground component and to harmonize the two while the naval blockade continued. The CINC's ability to rise above his own service biases and to adopt a theater offensive plan centered on an aerial campaign of attrition—upon which ground operations were contingent and to which they were clearly secondary—indicates a technical grasp of the military art.

The organization of the command by departmental components, instead of creating a unified or joint ground component command comparable to the joint air component, does not appear to have had a significant effect on the outcome. It was unlikely that a single unified high command was politically desirable, given very legitimate Saudi sensitivities. In that case, forming a joint task force headquarters to provide a single ground component for U.S. land forces (over Army and Marine Corps elements), separated by the Joint Forces Command North into two simultaneous but largely distinct operations, does not seem likely to have added much but an additional senior headquarters between the CINC and his troops.

Schwarzkopf is said by General Waller, his deputy, to have referred to him (Waller) as his "Bradley," and Waller speaks of his role as ground component commander as deputy commander in chief.[14] The analogy is both historically and organizationally inapt. In North Africa, Bradley went forward to be Eisenhower's eyes and ears and was quickly coopted by Patton. In France, Bradley was a major subordinate commander, and Eisenhower, like Schwarzkopf, was ground component commander with other components and Allied forces subordinated to his command. Schwarzkopf was ground component commander by default and that seems to have been no

more inappropriate in his case than it was in Eisenhower's. Schwarzkopf was already unable to exercise close executive supervision over forces in the field through his unified headquarters—and unable by temperament to leave execution entirely to his senior subordinates. The utility of another organizational model is questionable under the circumstances as they obtained in Saudi Arabia, though some second order adjustments, such as an earlier appointment of a joint targeting board under the deputy CINC to assist the CINC in coordinating air and ground offensives, might have been useful.

The process of conducting theater strategy consists of the practical combination of immediate decisions and long-term campaign planning, both carried out over time, which gives shape and substance to the theater commander's strategic concepts. Because of the lack of technical depth in a joint headquarters, the planning process became centered in the components very early on. Viewed in the large, the entire process evolved very much as JCS Publication 1, *Joint Warfare of the U.S. Armed Forces*, anticipates: "Campaign planning is done in crisis or conflict (once the actual threat, national guidance, and available resources become evident), but the basis and framework for successful campaigns is laid by peacetime analysis, planning and exercises."[15]

Internal Look was the culmination of peacetime analysis, planning, and exercise. Desert Shield was an initial response to one set of practical circumstances and missions that built upon Internal Look. Desert Storm was another response to yet another set of circumstances and missions, which, in turn, built upon Desert Shield. At the end of the day, the coalition high command had integrated the forces of a very disparate set of allies into a potent, indeed, irresistible offensive force.

Planning for the final offensive was a multimonth, multiechelon, iterative process—not a series of events where a higher plan was received, and then the next lower plan written, and so on down to the lowest platoon. Indeed, such a process would have been unrealistic given the need to balance and rebalance the desirable against the possible. That the best way to attack the Iraqi array was through the Iraqi desert was obvious. The real issue was to figure out how far west forces could go and how they were going to get there, as well as how that movement was to relate to the air operations upon which any ground offensive was seen to be dependent. The planning process was punctuated by a series of events, guidance given, planning sessions, discussions, and back-briefings in which the entire command structure

worked out their understanding of Schwarzkopf's concept, then filled in the details appropriate to each level.

From theater strategy, one descends in planning to operational art. Operational art is "the employment of military forces to attain strategic goals in a theater of war or theater of operations through the design, organization, and conduct of campaigns and major operations."[16] The last major action of the CINC in the realm of theater strategy was the assignment of theater objectives, the identification of decisive objectives, and their assignment to components. Campaign planning then consisted of working out the ways and means for the accomplishment of these objectives.

In campaign planning, it is not the final document that is important. It is the process itself that matters. In the television program, Gwynne Dwyer's War: A Commentary, prepared by the National Film Board of Canada, Israeli General Dan Lanner responded to a question from Dwyer in this way:

> "Well, in my opinion, a battle never works. It never works according to plan. . . . the plan is only a common base for changes. Everybody should know the plan so you can change easily. But the modern battle is very fluid and you have to make your decisions very fast and mostly not according to the original plan."
>
> "But," Dwyer replied, "at least everybody knows where you're coming from."
>
> "And," Lanner shot back, "where you're going to, more or less."[17]

It is this idea of a plan as a point of reference rather than a blueprint for execution that is often lost sight of in the training of American officers—this, and the idea of planning as a process rather than an event. In Desert Storm it was both. The joint and component plans for Desert Storm were published at about the same time.

The great lesson of the operational art for Desert Storm has nothing to do with the metaphysics of selecting "centers of gravity"—so popular a concept with graduates of the School of Advanced Military Studies—nor with the insight that it was better for ground forces to go around than through the Iraqi array, which was obvious (although, in the event, the Air Force may have rendered the distinction moot). Rather, it is in the extent to which logistics dominates the operational offensive. The U.S. Army has been spared this inconvenience by forty years of sitting on the inter-German border. J. F. C. Fuller had pointed out this reality in his biography of U.S. Grant, written in the 1930s. According to Fuller, Grant "realized that as tactics are based on

strategy, in its turn strategy is based on administration; that is, if action depends on movement, movement depends on supply."[18]

The issue for the operational commanders was never whether to go around. The question was to determine how far one could go around with sizable forces dependent on a sea of fuel and a mountain of supplies to sustain any type of offensive. The operational artist was not the philosopher of war who recognized what needed to be done; he was the technician of war who knew how to do it with what was available. In the end, the theater campaign design did produce the disruption of the enemy land force before the launching of the ground attack, but it did so principally by attrition from the air, not maneuver on the ground—though the flank attack by VII Corps certainly added to the dislocation of the enemy. Like Schlieffen's great plan, the ground attack was "a rolling offensive once begun, a series of loosely related but independent battles" that, in their aggregate, destroyed the Iraqi Army in the KTO.[19]

The most serious breakdown in the smooth functioning of the chain of command occurred between the theater commander and one of his tactical subordinates, that is, between General Schwarzkopf and Lieutenant General Franks. As General Bernard Trainor has pointed out most perceptively,[20] Franks, the tactical commander, was fully involved in the conduct of an approach to contact at a time when the theater commander began to demand a pursuit. Operational demand and tactical reality were at odds. Franks was on the battlefield. He was absorbed in the messy business of combat, which was accompanied as always by confusion, incomplete information, danger, and abysmal weather. Schwarzkopf could watch hundreds of enemy vehicles fleeing north in real time, as though on a TV screen, and talk to the Pentagon as if it were around the corner. It was Yeosock's task, however, at Third Army to reconcile the conflicting views, either to get Franks to move faster or to explain tactical realities to the CINC. (And, finally, Yeosock could have pointed out that, in the joint air component, Schwarzkopf had a splendid tool for interdicting the enemy's withdrawal.)

Yeosock might have prevailed upon Franks to accept the risk of keeping the two armored divisions and armored cavalry regiment in motion the night of 24–25 February, although it is unlikely that the speed of the 1st Division's breaching operation and the subsequent 1st U.K.'s passage of lines could have been increased materially. That *might* have brought the 1st Armored Division to Al Busayyah in time to take the town in daylight, thus obviating the need for the second pause. If it did not, Yeosock might have insisted that the division carry

the town in the dark. That, almost certainly, would have risked more casualties from friendly fire and might not have saved any time since forces making dismounted night attacks ordinarily require a good bit of reorganization when daylight comes. The division could have continued the advance a brigade short, of course, but that would have hurt it when it met the Republican Guard soon after. The first action would have entailed a risk that was more uncertain the night of the 24th than it is today, and the latter might have produced no gain at all.

Yeosock did none of these things. Indeed, his concept of command and his relationship with Schwarzkopf had much to do with his actions. Yeosock was unlikely to second-guess the tactical commander on the ground. His whole understanding of operational command was evident in his phrase about "unencumbering" the corps commanders. Schwarzkopf's rages, which Yeosock took for granted as irrational rather than specific, were simply one more distraction from which he could "unencumber" General Franks. That he did not convince the CINC that his intentions were being implemented as rapidly as possible does not seem to have been clear to Yeosock until the morning of the 26th. Rather, he seems throughout to have been confident that, in the end, it was all going to work itself out. Implicit in all this was a difference of view about how many lives this marginal gain was worth.

Yeosock's Moltkean approach to operational command and his dependence on his corps commanders also contributed to the gap that developed between the 24th Division and the eastward movement of the VII Corps. In retrospect, Yeosock might have intervened to get General Luck to swing the 24th Infantry Division eastward earlier. Instead of allowing the "Victory" Division brigades to run up and down airfields, he might have prevailed upon the XVIII Corps commander to advance the division attack east on Highway 8 by as much as twelve hours. Whether the logistics system (particularly fuel resupply) could have responded had that been ordered, remains to be proven. In any event, Luck seems to have been as disinterested in stopping General McCaffrey's moment of high theater as was Yeosock. It was difficult at the time not to see the airfield attacks as highly productive.

It cannot be disputed, however, that there was a breakdown between perceived operational imperatives and tactical realities. It is equally indisputable that it was Yeosock's place to mediate between the two. This was a human as well as a technical problem, and it is at least clear that the human part was unsuccessful, whatever the technical choices of the moment.

The major criticism of the conduct of the campaign, in retrospect, has a great deal to do with aesthetics and little to do with practical matters. One senior officer at Third Army put the matter this way: "It was my only chance to take part in a battle of Cannae and we failed to bring it off."[21] What he referred to was the failure to close the encirclement outside of Basrah because of the cessation of offensive operations the morning of 28 February. The details of this question have already been examined. It is appropriate here to add only two additional observations. The first is that even Cannae was not so perfect a victory as mythology would indicate.[22] More to the point, Cannae did not end the Punic War. In the end, Hannibal and Carthage were defeated.

Kuwait is free. The Iraqis in the Basrah pocket were allowed to go by default, or on purpose, not through any efforts of their own but because the coalition's goals were deemed to have been achieved. To decide, after the fact, that this "release" was a mistake is interesting, but not particularly practical, given that the efficiency of the operation can only be judged correctly in light of the goals and knowledge of circumstances that existed at the time. To close the pocket on the ground would have required that the 24th Infantry Division move even faster than it did, not likely given that it was commanded by a driven man to begin with (and that Basrah was far from the line of departure). It would have required also a willingness to accept the casualties likely to result if infantry were put into Basrah. Landing an air assault brigade in AO Thomas also looks good in retrospect, but at the time, it involved a good bit of risk because of uncommitted and escaping Iraqi forces. Finally, it is hard to envision a defeat more nearly total than that imposed south of the Euphrates. Such yearning after the perfect is simply moonshine!

That is not to say that the execution of the campaign might not have been done with more speed and more aggressiveness, and that gets to the heart of the conflict between Schwarzkopf and his Army commanders. This, in turn, involves what Jomini and Fuller refer to as grand tactics, essentially the employment of large forces on the battlefield.[23]

The VII Corps' attack was, by design, deliberate and cautious during its first two days, clearly designed for evading risk of any early disorganization while the corps won maneuver room. The cost of that care was obviously paid in time. The reason for this has to do with the state of mind of the Army commanders themselves. To a man, they expected high casualties from the ground operation. They had been assured of as much by various simulations and pundits since August

1990, and disposed to believe computer printouts, they prepared accordingly. Only Schwarzkopf seems to have anticipated the disorganizing effect of massive attrition and technological overmatch, and he too showed caution at the outset and later retained for too long a theater reserve of two heavy brigades and worried about the huge 24th Infantry Division getting out on a limb on the Euphrates. The Army needs to reconsider the credibility of simulations that depend principally on Mr. Lanchester's equations and neglect the moral factors of war, even though they are far less predictable.

Far more worrying is the idea that has taken hold in the late twentieth century that one can make war without suffering losses from enemy action or fratricide. There can be no question that concern for fratricide constituted a major operational obstacle—slowing the operations in the breach, delaying the attack on Objective Purple, and stopping the renewed VII Corps attack entirely the morning of the 28th. Congressman Les Aspin's Committee on Armed Services reported after the war that, "In planning Operation Desert Storm, minimizing allied and civilian casualties was *the highest priority* [emphasis added]."[24]

While minimizing casualties is certainly an important human concern, it can produce a terrible inhibiting effect when it becomes *the most important* consideration. As British historian Cyril Falls observes, "It is remarkable how many people exert themselves and go through contortions to prove that battles and wars are won by any means except that by which they are most commonly won, which is by fighting."[25] Fighting inevitably carries with it loss of life and limb, and American commanders seemed extraordinarily sensitive to that fact.

Napoleon wrote that the "first object which a general who gives battle should consider is the glory and honor of his arms; the safety and conservation of his men is but secondary; but it is also true that in audacity and obstinacy will be found the safety and conservation of his men."[26] But, of course, Napoleon ruined his army and his state and ended on a distant island. Sir Michael Howard, in the midst of the Gulf coalition's air campaign, warned that

> However skillful may be American statesmanship, however successful the allied armed forces in the field, if American public opinion is so horrified by the sight of slaughter that it ceases to be supportive of the whole enterprise, Saddam Hussein might still not lose the war. In this, as in so much else, the Clausewitzian analysis remains starkly relevant.[27]

In the Gulf War, this unwillingness to recognize the connection between risk and battle losses probably had little practical effect on an outcome that was, in retrospect, fairly certain. Yet it is an unwillingness deeply ingrained in our Army and trained by peacetime safety measures (valid in their own context) and no doubt by the memory among many officers of the effect of Walter Cronkite's weekly loss reports during the war in Vietnam. The fear this concern raises remains as a significant American weakness, and this fact must not be overlooked in the satisfaction with the results of this war. An imperative for low losses is a very weak reed upon which to build a combat doctrine, as weak perhaps as a total disregard for casualties.

George Patton wrote to his son in August 1944, "I have used one principle in these operations . . . and that is to—'fill the unforgiving minute with sixty seconds worth of distance run.' That is the whole art of war, and when you get to be a general, remember it!"[28] This is a much different approach from being "ahead of schedule and under budget." But Patton was fighting a total war (and not the first battle) and enjoyed strong public backing and involvement. Desert Storm, as Sir Michael seems to warn, for all its vocal public support, lacked—or was perceived to lack—that depth of public feeling necessary to bear heavy losses. Rightly or wrongly, the ground attack of Operation Desert Storm reflected more Montgomery-like concern for a tidy battlefield and balanced attack than pursuit of the "unforgiving minute." A major cause of the friction between the CINC and his field commanders was his greater willingness to risk a higher butcher's bill for greater speed in attack. Such judgments are highly subjective, largely individual, and very contingent in their effect. (Section 28 of the first chapter of Book I of Clausewitz' *On War*, with its reference to a "remarkable trinity," remains a good theoretical guide in relation to this problem. It provides, however, no easy answers.)[29]

Schwarzkopf's postwar obloquy of Franks was highly overstated.[30] Franks' mission may have been destruction of the Republican Guard, but Yeosock *and Waller*, with the CINC's knowledge and implicit approval, kept VII Corps within boundaries that limited its mission to "destruction in zone." If any Republican Guard troops in that zone escaped destruction, they did so by moving out of it, something it is not at all clear Franks could have influenced given his inability to affect deep-air interdiction. The partial escape of the Hammurabi Division would seem to be the responsibility of Third Army, which controlled the entire Army zone, *and the CINC himself*, since Schwarzkopf reserved responsibility for integration of the Army and joint Air Force components. Moreover, the escape of the greater

part of Iraqi heavy forces from the Basrah pocket occurred either in the face of J-STARS observation and Air Force interdiction beyond the fire support coordination line or after the truce talks with the Iraqis on 2 March, in which Schwarzkopf played a far more active role than the commanders of Third Army or VII Corps. Both of the above were a theater responsibility (Schwarzkopf's). Bridges out of Basrah, not road junctions at Safwan, were the route to a safe haven.

Two years after the Gulf War. in a talk at Fort Leavenworth, Franks listed the principles he believes should govern a commander in battle: getting the entire organization in the fight, maintaining a "balanced stance," dealing face-to-face with subordinates, paying attention to logistics, and reinforcing success.[31] (See figure 35.) These same principles guided the actions of VII Corps during Operation Desert Storm.

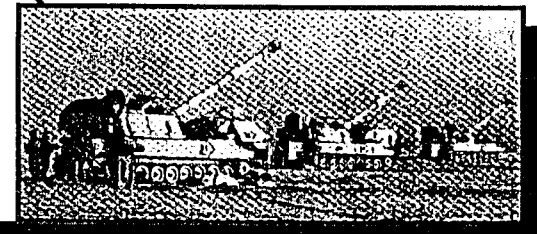
There is certainly a lesson from this war about technology, and it is that a clear technological advantage is a very nice thing to have. One U.S. division commander has observed that "we could have beat them with their equipment," and perhaps he is correct. The fact is, the U.S. military did not have to, and the war, no doubt, has given many the idea that technology is the answer to everything. Indeed, a dangerous consequence of the war may be that it seems to have reversed Michael Howard's contention that "technology may have made war more terrible, or any rate, more terrible for more people, but it has for this very reason made it less attractive and less likely . . ."[32]

It was, of course, the very one-sided nature of the technologies in question that made this difference. Looked at from the other side, it has since become clear that the "surgical air strikes" in Baghdad were surgical only if one's standard is a comparison to the effect of the ordnance dropped by a flight of B-17s over Germany in World War II. As George Ball observed before the air war, ". . . if the medical profession adopted the standards of the Air Force, any patient seeking an appendectomy might well have his heart and brain removed, while his appendix remained intact."[33] At least, with precision munitions, the patient's appendix would now be gone, too. *The New York Review of Books* quotes one postwar survey: "Baghdad, . . . where some four million people lived, is a city essentially unmarked, a body with its skin basically intact, with every main bone broken and with its joints and tendons cut . . . . The health system is collapsing. There are no phones and no electricity and no petrol and only a people reduced to daily improvisations and scroungings."[34]

PLANNING IS NOT FIGHTING

PLANNING ...

- *FOCUS ON THE ENEMY YOU FACE*
- *ASK:* HOW CAN I BEST HURT THE ENEMY?
- LISTEN TO YOUR OWN ORDERS; HOLD BRIEFBACKS AND REHEARSALS AT ALL LEVELS
- KEEP SIMPLICITY IN THE PLAN
- *KNOW* YOUR JOB AS WELL AS YOUR SOLDIERS KNOW THEIRS
- *ASK:* WHAT'S THE WORST THAT CAN HAPPEN?
- FOCUS INTEL: PIR x 6
- ESTABLISH THE POINT OF MAIN EFFORT
- BE PREPARED TO BE SUCCESSFUL



... FIGHTING

- GET ENTIRE ORGANIZATION INTO THE FIGHT
  - *REUSE COMBAT ASSETS*
  - *SHIFT POINTS OF MAIN EFFORT*
  - *KEEP A RESERVE; CONTINUALLY REINFORCE*
- STAY IN A BALANCED STANCE
- MAINTAIN FACE-TO-FACE WITH SUBORDINATES; GIVE ORDERS IN SOLDIER'S TERMS
- FORGET LOGISTICS AND YOU WILL LOSE
- ***REINFORCE SUCCESS***

Figure 35.

A United Nations' report of 22 March 1991 states that "The recent conflict has wrought near-apocalyptic results upon the infrastructure of what had been, until January 1991, a rather highly urbanized and mechanized society. Now, most means of modern life support have been destroyed or rendered tenuous."[35] In short, war is still war, and technological advantage looks to cheapen war only for the side that has it.

The extraordinarily low casualty figures for attacking American ground forces were also the result of an advantage purchased by sustained investment in technology and training—an investment that seems to have been a wise one. A ground war today, without that advantage, could be something different, indeed—especially if the enemy's materiel was on a par with our own.

Generalship was also a significant facet of the Gulf War. As Napoleon said:

> The personality of the general is indispensable; he is the head, he is the all, of an army. The Gauls were not conquered by the Roman legions, but by Caesar. It was not before the Carthaginian soldiers that Rome was made to tremble, but before Hannibal. It was not the Macedonian phalanx which penetrated to India, but Alexander. It was not the French Army which reached the Weser and the Inn, it was Turenne. Prussia was not defended for seven years against the three most formidable European Powers by the Prussian soldiers, but by Frederick the Great.[36]

Undoubtedly the theater of war in the Arabian Peninsula was dominated by the personality of General Schwarzkopf. No act taken had meaning except in reference to his mercurial and unforgiving personality. But the habit of killing messengers has a cost. Messengers stop telling the king what he ought to hear. The unwillingness of senior Army commanders to question the sending of the 24th Division away from the main attack is but one example. The lack of a common view between the Third Army commanders and the CINC on the likely enemy resistance, along with the need for haste in exploitation, are others.

To a great extent, communication had broken down because of Schwarzkopf's arbitrary treatment of those he relied upon to act as an extension of his will. The high command of Desert Storm was no Nelsonian band of brothers who could be advised only that "no man will do too far wrong who lays his ship beside that of the enemy" and then be left to execute the commander in chief's plan.

Schwarzkopf's great shortcoming was his inability to take an elevated view of the battlefield, to recognize and accept the presence of

friction in execution and "noise" in the information system.[37] Increasingly behind events, he could neither influence nor understand the limitations on the maneuver of massive armored forces in the field. Nor was he willing to leave the tactical execution to the man on the spot, who was capable of seeing and feeling the forces present in the iron fist of VII Corps. "Iron will power," Clausewitz says, "can overcome this friction; it pulverizes every obstacle, but of course it wears down the machine as well."[38]

The net effect of the theater commander's personality on the force he commanded was largely negative. General Waller's position was, therefore, essential, precisely because he was not afraid of the CINC, and he was willing to be the messenger. Because Waller was approachable, he also became the mediator between Schwarzkopf and his subordinates. But then, while critiquing Schwarzkopf's method, one must remember that, to paraphrase the other "great helmsman," war is not a tea party.

General officers, and Schwarzkopf had a handful of them, are powerful men who have risen in a competitive bureaucracy, seldom entirely by selfless service. Many are not unaccustomed, when their proposals are not accepted, to going around their boss to sponsors in their service departments. If Schwarzkopf was to be master in his own house, he needed to preserve a certain distance. Eisenhower, after all, did not have to maintain his position in an environment where every division commander (no less countless staff officers) could telephone friends in the Pentagon or around the Army daily, or where other commanders in chief with good ideas could simply pick up the phone and call "to help out." There was a good deal of networking, not always to the detriment of the effort, for it meant that the collective minds of an institution were brought to bear in a way not heretofore possible. At the same time, for all the mutual kind words immediately after the war, Schwarzkopf was the recipient of a good deal more "help" from the national security adviser and the chairman of the JCS—or those who claimed to speak in their names—than he might have wished.[39] Still, one must note the difference between Schwarzkopf's treatment of his subordinates and the way Eisenhower and Marshall treated Bradley after the miscalculation of the Ardennes. The contrast is especially significant given Schwarzkopf's own definition of character.

Army generals in Southwest Asia stand out by virtue of their executive abilities, their determination to succeed with the resources made available to them, and their ability to find expedients to get

around shortfalls and difficulties. They were not all gentlemen, but they were all determined and effective.

Operation Desert Storm was a transitional war in which forces raised and trained to fight on the Central Front in Europe against a great power were, instead, deployed to the open desert to fight a local tyrant with more technology than he knew how to use. What does this war have to say to the Army of the twenty-first century?

First of all, it suggests that operational command and control is not analogous to tactical command and control. This conclusion was at the core of Yeosock's frequent observations that nine echelons separated him and the fighting platoons. Indeed, his whole method of command was a matter of "direction" rather than control. It is because of the distance from the fighting line and the difficulty of getting precise and accurate information that operational command requires more anticipation. Fewer decisions are better. Planning horizons are more distant. At the same time, it is clear that the means exist today for jumping the chain of command in order to obtain information needed immediately to exploit an opportunity rapidly. The Army, however, has not figured out how best to utilize this means while respecting the chain of command necessary for articulated operation. It is also clear that even with clear transmission of words across the ether, miscommunication can and will still take place between the operators of two telephone handsets.

Strategically, Desert Shield showed the importance to the United States of air and maritime superiority and the ability to exploit them. Without air and maritime superiority, the Army would not have gotten to the war. Because of the shortage of roll-on, roll-off ships, the deployment of armored forces took longer than the distance alone warranted.

At the theater-strategic level, at least in the desert, air forces have become the arm of rapid maneuver and deep attack, armies the fixing force. However, if air power proved vital, indeed decisive, in this war—operationally and tactically—the enemy was not defeated until his depleted army was destroyed by men on the ground and until air power was provided with exposed ground targets by its terrestrial "beaters." Massive air power was necessary, even critical to success. It was not sufficient alone.

Aside from the positive (offensive) contribution of air supremacy, ARCENT could not have made war in the way that it did without it. The concentrations of armored formations and the vast accumulations of fuel, parts, and ammunition required to project a force into the

enemy depths, represent a significant vulnerability if they cannot be protected from enemy attack from the air. All the talk about nonlinear warfare, war with discontinuous fronts, does not affect the simple fact that mechanized armies rely more than ever on materiel to stay in the field, and an armored Army must be based, and to a great extent tethered somewhere. It cannot operate like a fleet at sea.

Desert Storm showed that a different kind of Army is required for operational offensives from that required for forward defense in Europe. Operational warfare is made with wheeled vehicles, and the U.S. Army simply did not have enough of them, at least in theater. Desert Storm also showed that in mechanized warfare, the large manpower-intensive army has not gone away, it has simply moved its personnel from the battle line into shops and dumps and into specialties that make the machines more effective. Finally, the Gulf War demonstrated again that prewar investment in people, training, and good equipment pays off in blood saved on the battlefield.

Finally, this war was marked by three important, even decisive, conditions that may not repeat themselves in future contingencies. First, this part of the Persian Gulf was well endowed with exactly the sort of infrastructure that could compensate for the allies' own shortcomings in the strategic projection of heavy forces. In this regard, at least, Saudi Arabia was a "mature" theater of operations. Second, the global balance was such that there were no other strategic distractions; the theater of operations could enjoy the full support of the entire American military. Finally, as Count Alfred von Schlieffen wrote in his classic *Cannae*, "A complete battle of Cannae is rarely met in history. For its achievement, a Hannibal is needed on one side, and a Terrentius Varro, on the other, both cooperating for the attainment of the great objective." Whether or not there was a Hannibal on the allied side, there was certainly a Terrentius Varro in Baghdad.[40]

Notes

1. "Transcript of President Bush's Address on End of the Gulf War," *The New York Times*, 7 March 1991, A8.

2. HQ, ARCENT, Command Briefing Operation Desert Storm, dated 15 August 1991, slide titled, "Military Objectives."

3. Ibid. Slides titled, "Task Force Freedom" and "TF Freedom Mission."

4. HQ, 352d Civil Affairs Command, AFKA-ACDM-CG, Memorandum for COMUSARCENT, Subject: Combined Civil Affairs Task Force (CCATF) After-Action Report (AAR), Operations Desert Shield/Storm. The report is an excellent overview of civil affairs problems from the standpoint of the civil affairs specialists. A slightly different point of view is in HQ, ARCENT, G3 (AFRD-DTP), Memorandum for USARCENT Historian, Colonel Swain, Subject: HQ USARCENT G3 Plans, Historical Narrative of Desert Shield, Desert Storm, Defense and Restoration of Kuwait, and Redeployment.

5. Lieutenant Colonel Peter S. Kindsvatter, "VII Corps in the Gulf War: Post Cease-Fire Operations," *Military Review* 72 (June 1992): 2–19.

6. Robert Southey, "The Battle of Blenheim," in *The Oxford Book of War Poetry*, ed. Jon Stallworthy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 66.

7. B. H. Liddell Hart, *The Decisive Wars of History* (London: G. Bell & Son, Ltd., 1929), 150–51. This is the operative consequence of Clausewitz' observation that "war itself does not suspend political intercourse or change it into something entirely different. In essentials that intercourse continues, irrespective of the means it employs." Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 605. Similarly, Raymond Aron wrote: "The distinction between diplomacy and [military] strategy is an entirely relative one. These two terms are complementary aspects of the single act of policy—the act of conducting relations with other states so as to further the 'national interests.' " Raymond Aron, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations*, trans. Richard Howard and Annette Baker Fox (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1966), 24.

8. Clausewitz, *On War, 80.*

9. Ibid.

10. Saddam's behavior seems to indicate as much, particularly his involvement in Kuwait City, which delayed any move farther south had that been his intention. Some have called this an error on his part. It is, of course, an error only if he intended to move south. The stockage of great quantities of materiel in southeast Iraq does not indicate intention either. Military men, in general, overensure when they can. U.S. forces set a sixty-day stockage level for munitions for a war they expected to last no more than two weeks.

11. Bernard Brodie, *Strategy in the Missile Age* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 224.

12. Aron, *Peace and War*, 25; and Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, trans. Rex Warner (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1972), 49.

13. Brigadier P. A. J. Cordingley, "The Gulf War: Operating with Allies," Journal of the *Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies* 137, no. 2 (April 1992): 18.

14. Interview with Lieutenant General Calvin Waller by Brigadier General Timothy Grogan at Fort Lewis, Washington, 2 May 1991, 126–27.

15. Joint Publication 1, *Joint Warfare of the US Armed Forces*, 11 November 1991, 46.

16. FM 100-5, *Operations*, May 1986, 10.

17. In Gwynne Dwyer, *War: A Commentary by Gwynne Dwyer*, Episode 1, "The Road to Total War," National Film Board of Canada, 1985.

18. J. F. C. Fuller, *The Generalship of Ulysses S. Grant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 214.

19. Arden Bucholz, *Moltke, Schlieffen and Prussian War Planning* (New York: Bing Publishing, 1991), 242. Quotation refers, of course, to Schlieffen's ideas, not the Gulf War.

20. Lieutenant General Bernard E. Trainor, U.S. Marine Corps, Retired, "Schwarzkopf and His Generals," in *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings* 20, no. 6 (June 1994): 47.

21. To the author.

22. Livy, *The War with Hannibal, Book XXI–XXX of The History of Rome From Its Foundation*, trans. Aubrey De Selincourt (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1965), 149; and Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1979), 274.

23. Jomini, *The Art of War*, trans. Captain G. H. Mendell and Lieutenant W. P. Craighill (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1862—Greenwood Press reprint, n.d.), 62; and J. F. C. Fuller, *The Foundations of the Science of War* (London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 1925), 107. Liddell Hart attributes the term to Guibert in *The Ghost of Napoleon* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1933), 81.

24. U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Armed Services, Washington, D.C., 30 March 1992, *Defense for a New Era: Lessons of the Persian Gulf*, 88–89.

25. Cyril Falls, quoted in T. Harry Williams, "The Military Leadership of North and South," in *Why the North Won the Civil War*, ed. David Donald (New York: Collier Books, 1960), 34.

26. Napoleon, Maxim No. XV, in *The Military Maxims of Napoleon*, trans. Lieutenant General Sir George C. D. Auguilar (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1987).

27. Sir Michael Howard, "Clausewitz: Man of the Year," *The New York Times*, 28 January 1991, A23.

28. Letter George S. Patton, Jr., to son George, 21 August 1944, ed. Martin Blumenson, *The Patton Papers, 1940–1945*, vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974), 523.

29. Section 28 addresses Clausewitz' "remarkable trinity."

30. Schwarzkopf, *Doesn't Take a Hero*, 383, 433, 455–56, 461–63, 475–76.

31. Slide in possession of author.

32. Michael Howard, "War and Technology," *Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies* 132 (December 1987): 21.

33. George W. Ball, "The Gulf Crisis," *The New York Review of Books* (6 December 1990): 12.

34. Richard Reed of UN Children's Fund, quoted by Samir al-Khahl, "Iraq and Its Future," *The New York Review of Books* 38, no. 7 (11 April 1991): 10.

35. "Excerpts from U.N. Report on Need for Humanitarian Assistance in Iraq," *The New York Times*, 23 March 1991, A5.

36. Fuller, *Foundations of the Science of War*, 127.

37. See Alan Beyerchen, "Clausewitz, Nonlinearity, and the Unpredictability of War," *International Security* 17, no. 3 (Winter 1992–93): 59–90.

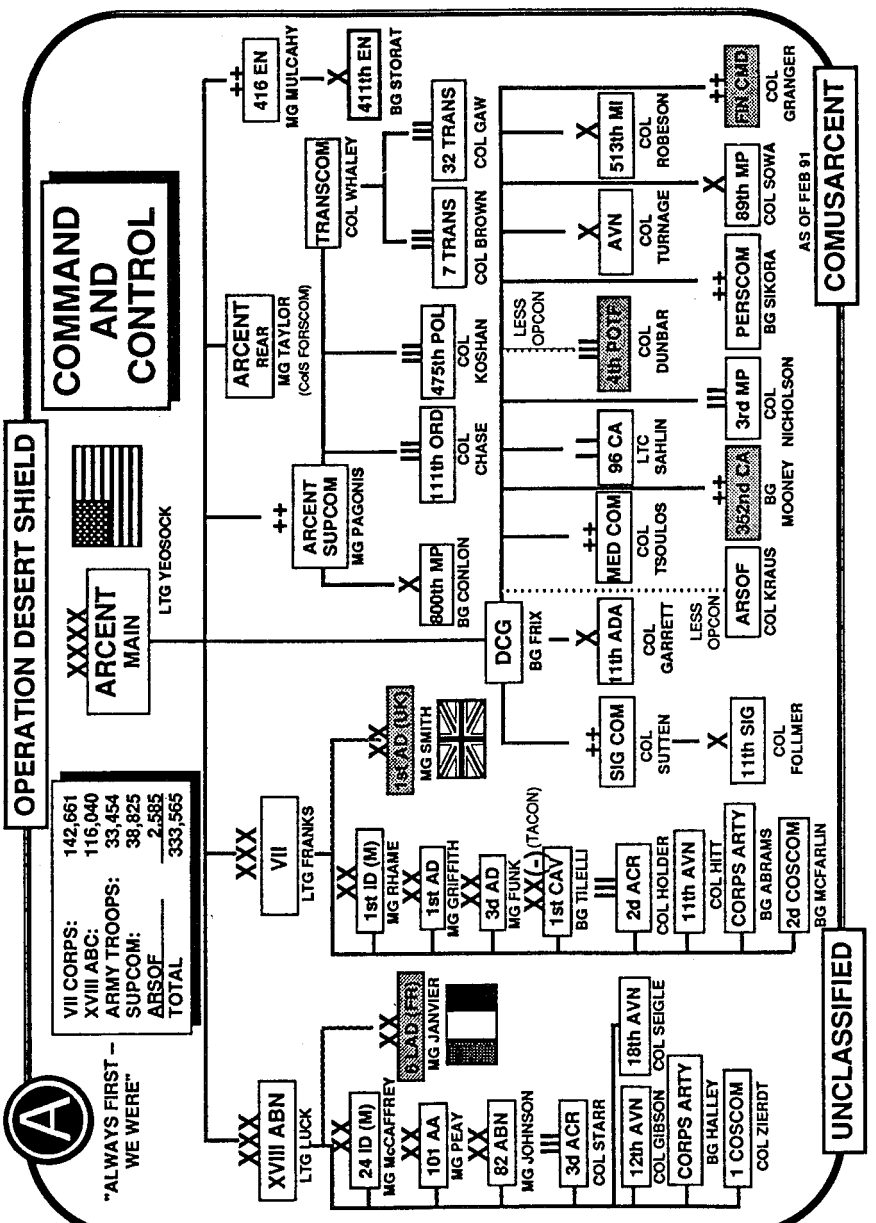
38. Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, 119.

39. Schwarzkopf, *Doesn't Take a Hero*, 315, 321–28, 326–27, 359–62, 368, 386–87, 418, 440–45. See comment by de la Billiere, *Storm Command*, 103.

40. General Field Marshal, Count Alfred von Schlieffen, *Cannae* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: The Command and General Staff School Press, 1936), 238. The final conclusions are repeated from the operational narrative the author prepared for the commander, ARCENT, in July 1991. At this writing, the author continues to believe they are appropriate.

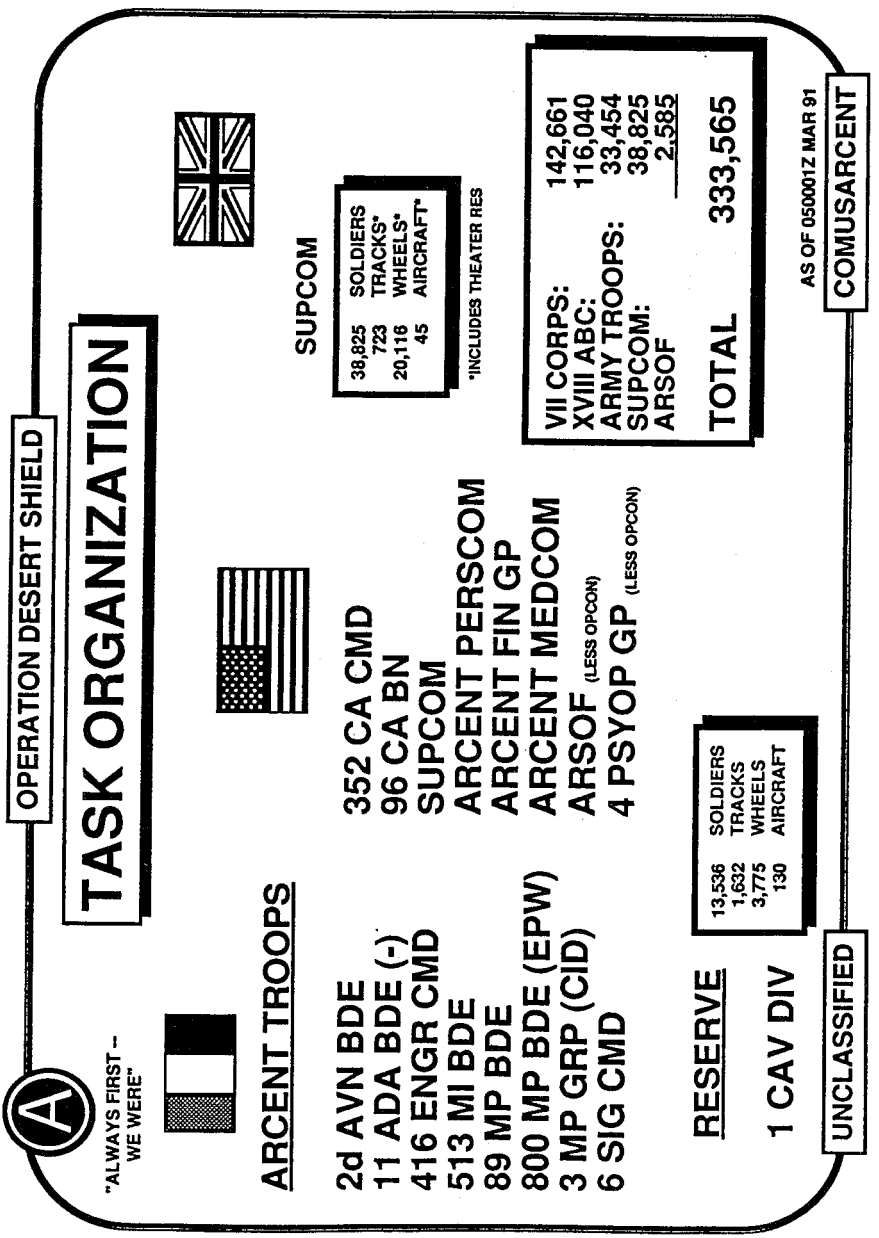
Appendix A

Command and Control, ARCENT, February 1991



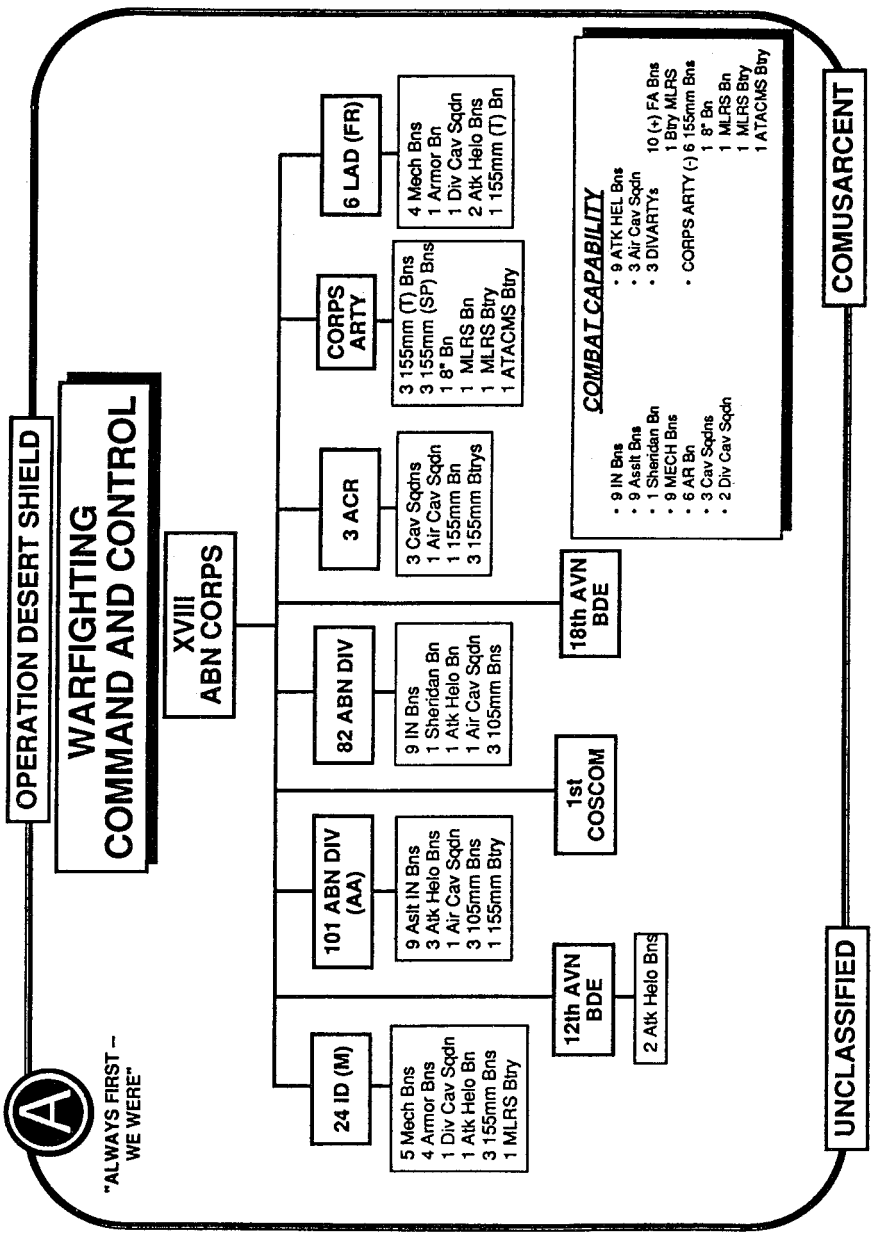
Appendix B

Task Organization, Operation Desert Shield, 5 March 1991



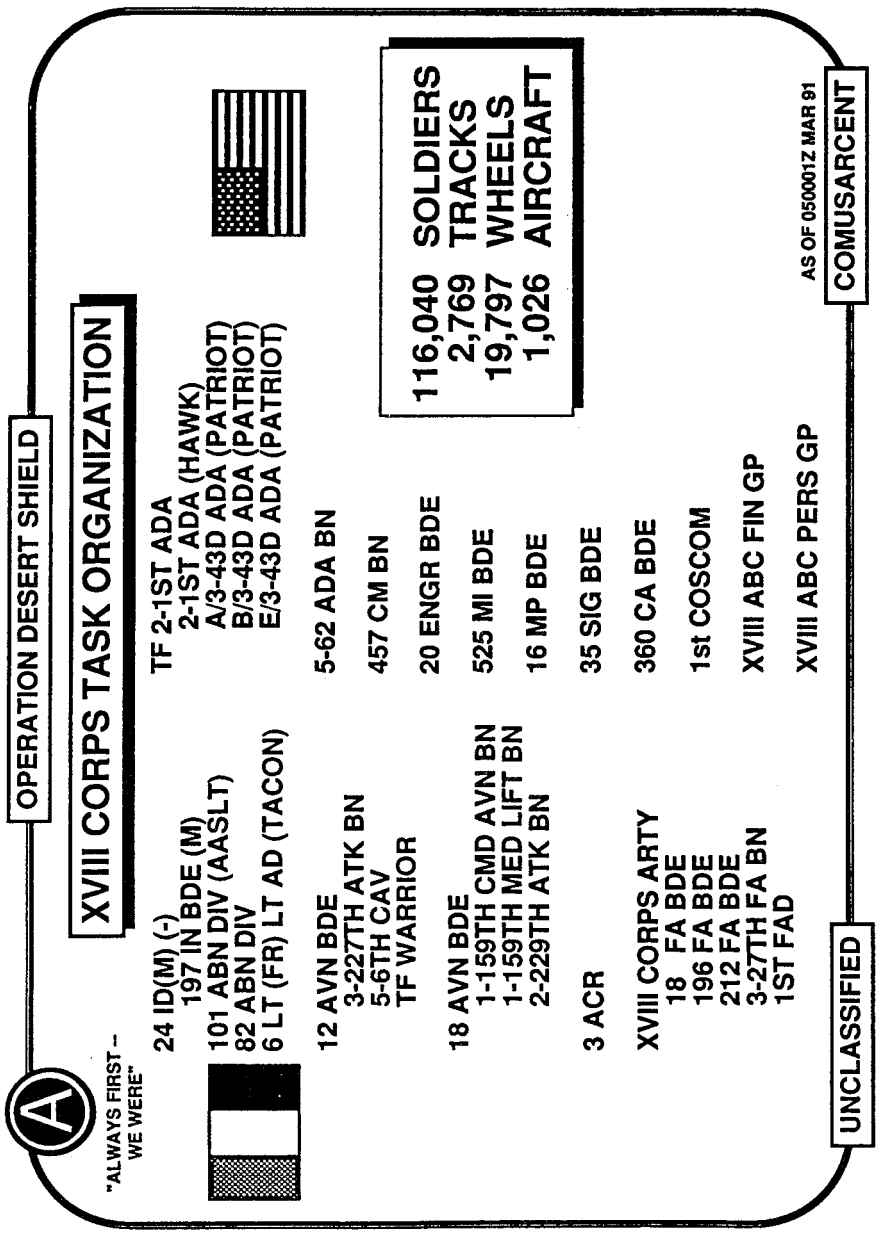
Appendix C

Warfighting Command and Control, XVIII Airborne Corps



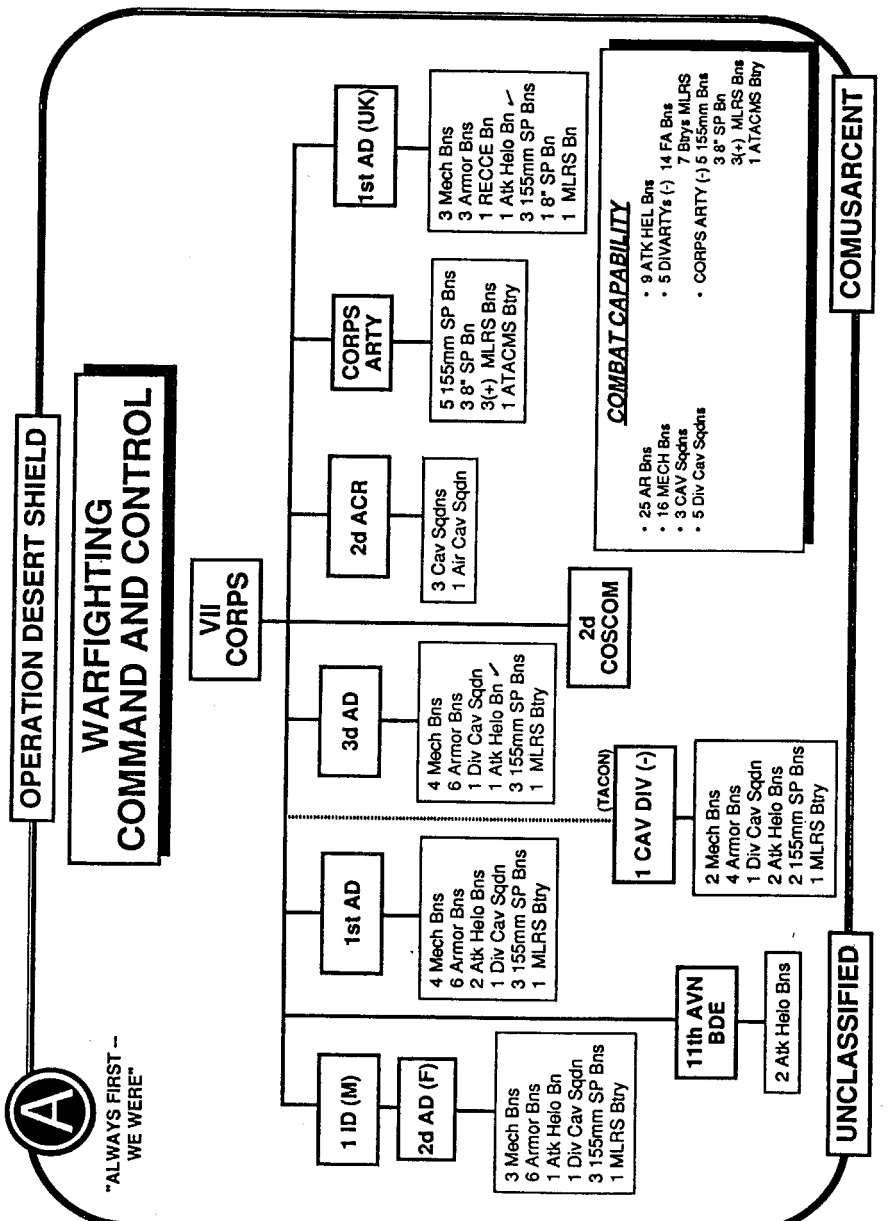
Appendix D

The XVIII Airborne Corps' Task Organization, 5 March 1991



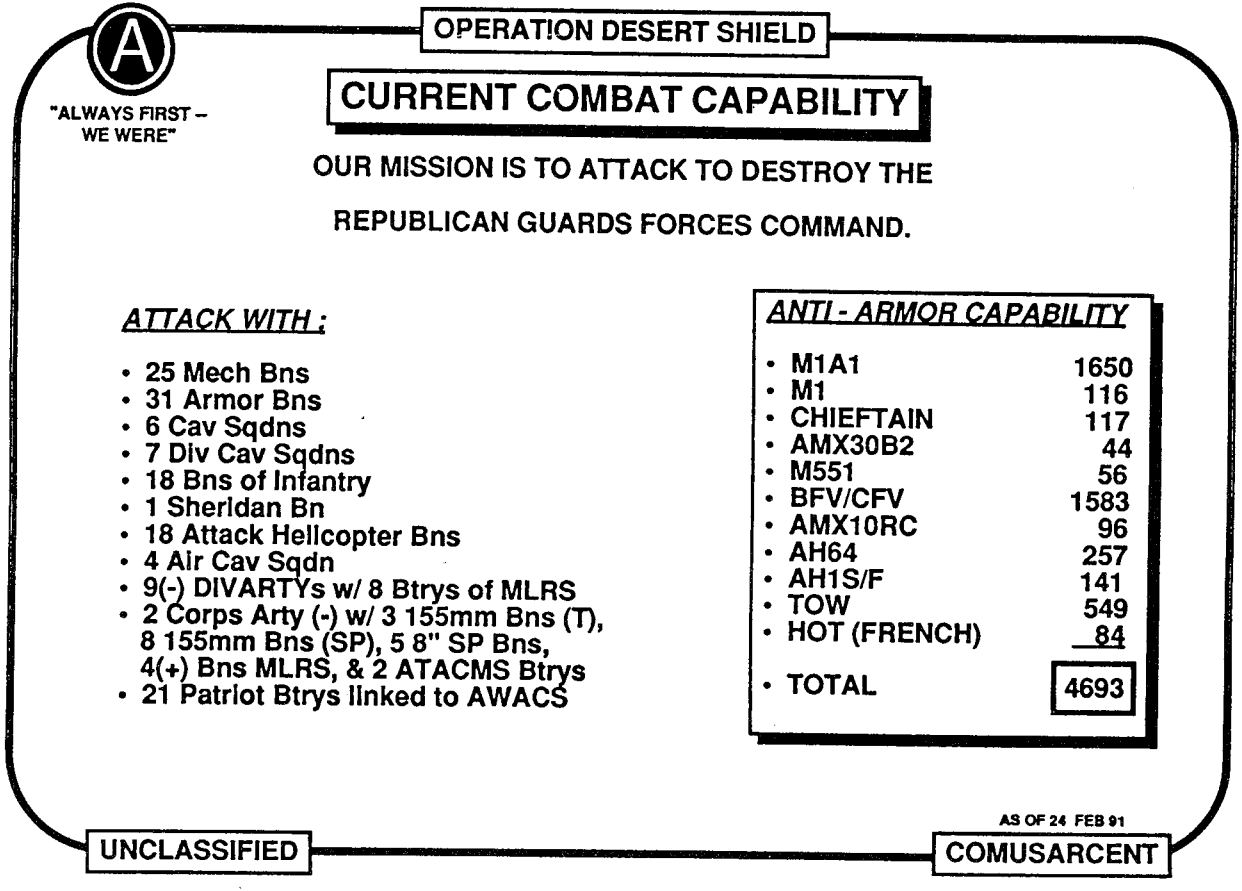
Appendix E

Warfighting Command and Control, VII Corps



Appendix F

The VII Corps' Task Organization, 5 March 1991


OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
"ALWAYS FIRST – WE WERE"
CURRENT COMBAT CAPABILITY
OUR MISSION IS TO ATTACK TO DESTROY THE REPUBLICAN GUARDS FORCES COMMAND.
ATTACK WITH :
• 25 Mech Bns
• 31 Armor Bns
• 6 Cav Sqdns
• 7 Div Cav Sqdns
• 18 Bns of Infantry
• 1 Sheridan Bn
• 18 Attack Hellcopter Bns
• 4 Air Cav Sqdn
• 9(-) DIVARTYs w/ 8 Btrys of MLRS
• 2 Corps Arty (-) w/ 3 155mm Bns (T), 8 155mm Bns (SP), 5 8" SP Bns, 4(+) Bns MLRS, & 2 ATACMS Btrys
• 21 Patriot Btrys linked to AWACS
ANTI - ARMOR CAPABILITY
• M1A1 1650
• M1 116
• CHIEFTAIN 117
• AMX30B2 44
• M551 56
• BFV/CFV 1583
• AMX10RC 96
• AH64 257
• AH1S/F 141
• TOW 549
• HOT (FRENCH) 84
• TOTAL 4693
AS OF 24 FEB 91
UNCLASSIFIED
COMUSARCENT

Appendix H

Chronology

16 Jul 90	ARCENT OPLAN 1002-90 (draft) (Defense of Saudi Arabia) published
2 Aug 90	Iraq invades Kuwait (0140Z)
	UN Security Council Resolution 660 condemns invasion and calls for withdrawal of Iraqi troops
	United States imposes an embargo on Iraq, deploys USAF tanker squadrons, moves USS *Independence* battle group toward Persian Gulf
4 Aug 90	General John Yeosock, commander, Third Army, is summoned to MacDill Air Force Base by General Schwarzkopf
5 Aug 90	Secretary of defense party flies to Saudi Arabia meeting with King Fahd
6 Aug 90	Saudi king requests U.S. forces in defense of kingdom
7 Aug 90	President Bush orders deployment of military forces and Operation Desert Shield begins
8 Aug 90	President announces deployment and U.S. national objectives
	ARCENT advanced command and control element arrives in Saudi Arabia
9 Aug 90	The XVIII Corps advanced CP and first units of 82d Airborne Division arrive in theater
10 Aug 90	CENTCOM OPORD issued
12 Aug 90	The 82d Airborne Division establishes advanced base at Al Jubayl
	President orders Navy to enforce embargo
13 Aug 90	First ships carrying the 24th Infantry Division depart from Savannah
14 Aug 90	Division-ready brigade of 82d Airborne Division completes deployment

5 Aug 90	Secretary of defense requests president to call selected Reserve forces to active duty
18 Aug 90	U.S. Navy fires first shots enforcing the blockade
19 Aug 90	Iraqis observed building barriers on Saudi border with Kuwait
22 Aug 90	President informs Congress that he is invoking his authority to call-up selected Reserves
	ARCENT OPORD 1 Desert Shield published
25 Aug 90	UN Security Council Resolution 665 authorizes use of force to enforce sanctions on Iraq
27 Aug 90	First ship carrying 24th Infantry Division arrives in theater
28 Aug 90	MARCENT assumes security of Al Jubayl
7 Sep 90	Brigadier General Steven Arnold arrives to be G3, Third Army
14 Sep 90	Schwarzkopf orders Third Army to plan for defense of Riyadh
16 Sep 90	"Jedi Knights" arrive at CENTCOM
25 Sep 90	The 24th Infantry Division closes
5 Oct 90	The 1st Cavalry Division begins to arrive
7 Oct 90	The 101st Airborne Division completes deployment
11 Oct 90	CENTCOM chief of staff and party brief President Bush on one-corps plan
14 Oct 90	The 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment completes deployment
17 Oct 90	The Third Army commander and British theater commander (General de Billiere) briefed for first time on offensive planning
22–23 Oct 90	Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff briefed on one- and two-corps options
24 Oct 90	CINC's planning group placed under Third Army's supervision
25 Oct 90	1st Cavalry Division completes deployment

	Secretary of defense begins talking about additional force build-up in Saudi Arabia
30 Oct 90	The XVIII Corps reports closure in Saudi Arabia
4 Nov 90	General Saint and General Franks select Europe-based brigades for deployment with VII Corps
6 Nov 90	Saudi king and U.S. secretary of state agree to coalition command plan
8 Nov 90	President Bush announces offensive option and doubling of forces in peninsula
14 Nov 90	Schwarzkopf briefs subordinate commanders on his campaign plan
29 Nov 90	UN Security Council sets deadline for Iraqi withdrawal
30 Nov 90	The XVIII Corps briefs corps plan to ARCENT commander
7 Dec 90	The VII Corps commander briefs corps plan to ARCENT commander
20 Dec 90	Secretary of defense and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff briefed on offensive plans
23–28 Dec 90	Movement exercise at Support Command in Dhahran
27–30 Dec 90	Third Army MAPEX at Eskan Village
28 Dec 90	Movement briefing for CINC. General Pagonis "signs his contract"
30 Dec 90	Syrians announce they are unwilling to attack Iraq
8 Jan 91	Schwarzkopf approves Third Army plan
12 Jan 91	"Lucky Wheels" deploys to KKMC
17 Jan 91	Air operations begin against Iraq
18 Jan 91	First Scud missiles fired at Israel and Saudi Arabia by Iraq
29 Jan 91	Iraqi attack at Khafji (counterattack lasts to 1 Feb)
1 Feb 91	Commander's huddle at KKMC
4 Feb 91	The VII Corps takes responsibilty for border in attack sector

8 Feb 91	Third Army commander reports force closed
9 Feb 91	Final briefing to secretary of defense and chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
13 Feb 91	Third Army directs movement into forward assembly areas
14 Feb 91	General Yeosock hospitalized
	Cross-border operations authorized
15 Feb 91	The VII Corps begins movement into attack positions
20 Feb 91	Battle of Ruqi pocket
	President Bush gives Iraqis four days to withdraw from Kuwait
22 Feb 91	President Gorbachev announces final Soviet peace proposal; Iraq accepts; United States does not
	United States gives Iraq twenty-four hours to begin withdrawal or accept consequences
23 Feb 91	Iraq rejects U.S.-Coalition ultimatum
	General Yeosock resumes command of Third Army
24 Feb 91	Ground attack begins
28 Feb 91	Cessation of offensive actions
2 Mar 91	The 24th Division's "Battle of the Causeway"
3 Mar 91	Cease-fire talks at Safwan
15 Mar 91	Ramadan begins

Glossary

-A-

ACCB	air cavalry combat brigade
ACR	armored cavalry regiment
AD	armored division
ANGLICO	air and naval gunfire liaison company
AO	area of operations
ARCENT	Army Central Command
ARTEP	Army Training and Evaluation Program
ATACMS	Army tactical missiles
ATO	air tasking order

-B-

BAI	battlefield air interdiction
BCE	battlefield control element
BCTP	Battle Command Training Program
BDA	battle damage assessment
BENT	beginning evening nautical twilight
BMD	Russian-design infantry fighting vehicle
BMNT	beginning morning tactical twilight

-C-

CAA	Concepts and Analysis Agency (Army)
CAB	combined arms battalion
C-day	force deployment date
CENTAF	Central Command Air Force
CENTAG	Central Army Group (NATO)
CENTCOM	Central Command
CEV	combat engineer vehicles
CINC	commander in chief
CONUS	continental United States
CONUSAs	stateside Army-level headquarters
CP	command post
C3IC	Coalition Coordination Communication Integration Center

-D-

DCG	deputy commanding general
DCSLOG	deputy chief of staff for logistics
DCSOPS	deputy chief of staff for operations
DFE	division force equivalent
DRAO	Defense Reconstruction Assistance Office

-E-

EPW	enemy prisoner of war
EST	Eastern Standard Time
EUCOM	European Command (U.S.)
Exercise Internal Look	A 1990 exercise based on an Iraqi threat to the Arabian peninsula

-F-

FOB	forward operating base
FORSCOM	Forces Command
FRAGO	fragmentary orders
FSCL	fire support coordination line
FSS	fast sealift ships

-G-

G-day	24 February, the beginning of the ground phase of the campaign
GPS	global positioning system

-H-

HEMTT	heavy expanded mobility tactical truck
HETs	heavy equipment transporters
HMMWV	high-mobility multipurpose wheeled vehicle

-I-

ICM	improved conventional munition
ID	infantry division

-J-

JFACC	joint force air component commander
J5	joint operations officer
J4	joint logistics staff officer
JSCAP	Joint Strategic Capability Plan
J-STARS	joint surveillance target attack radar system
Just Cause	U.S. military operations in Panama

-K-

KKMC	King Khalid Military City
KTO	Kuwaiti theater of operations

-L-

LAV	light armored vehicle
LNO	liaison officer
LORAN	long-range very-low-frequency navigation systems
LZ	landing zone

-M-

MACOM	major Army command
MAPEX	map exercise
MARCENT	Marine Central Command
MEB	Marine expeditionary brigade
MEDCOM	medical command
METT-T	mission, enemy, terrain and weather, and troops and time available
MI	military intelligence
MLRS	multiple launch rocket system
MPS	maritime prepositioning ships
MSR	main supply route

-N-

NAVCENT	Navy Central Command
NCA	national command authorities

-O-

Operation Urgent Fury	1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada
OPLAN	operations plan
OPMSANG	Office of the Program Manager, Saudi Army National Guard
OPORD	operations order

-P-

PERSCOM	Personnel Command
PL	phase line
PMO	provost marshal office
PMSANG	Program Manager, Saudi Army National Guard
POW	prisoner of war

-R-

REFORGER Exercises	return of forces to Europe exercises
RGFC	Republican Guard Forces Command
RPG	rocket-propelled grenade

-S-

SANG	Saudi Army National Guard
SAMS	School of Advanced Military Studies
SCUD	ballistic missile (enemy variety)
SITREP	situation report
SLUGR	small lightweight global positioning system
SOCCENT	Special Operations Command, Central
SOF	special operations forces
SOFA	Status of Forces Agreement
SUPCOM	Support Command

-T-

TAA	tactical assembly area
TAACOM	theater army area command
TAC (or tac)	tactical
TACSAT	tactical satellite
"Tiger Brigade"	1st Brigade, 2d Armored Division
TOC	tactical operations center
TOE	table of organization
TOW	tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided (missile)
TPFDD	time-phased force development data
TPFDL	time-phased force deployment list
TRADOC	Training and Doctrine Command
TRANSCOM	U.S. Transportation Command

-U-

UAV	unmanned aerial vehicle
USAREUR	U.S. Army Europe
USMTM	U.S. Military Training Mission

Bibliography

Notes on Sources

This study is not accompanied by a bibliography because, though the author has consulted them, for the most part this book has not been written from published sources. It has been written based upon personal observation, the study of documentary evidence, and personal interviews (where such have been useful to clarify points upon which other documents have been silent). The decision of the author not to become overly involved in published sources was more a consequence of the period in which he undertook his study than from any other factor. There has been no shortage of published accounts of the Gulf War, but there has been very much a lack of *documented* accounts upon which one might rely. Indeed, a sign of the maturing of the field will be the first history that *does not* depend on Bob Woodwards' instant narrative of the strategic direction of the war as a primary source (as found in *The Commanders* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991]).

The early accounts are not without value, but they suffer as a class from the haste in which they were written. Among these are James Blackwell's *Thunder in the Desert* (New York: Bantam Books, 1991) and James F. Dunnigan and Austin Bay's *From Shield to Storm* (New York: William Morrow, 1992). Colonel (Retired) Harry Summers' *On Strategy II: A Critical Analysis of the Gulf War* (New York: Dell Paperback, 1992) was more opportunistic and had as much to say about the author's well-known views on the Vietnam War as it did the war in the Persian Gulf. Indeed, Summers' book reflected no research base whatever. Among the better early books was the *U.S. News and World Report*'s, *Triumph Without Victory: The Unreputed History of the Persian Gulf War* (New York: Random House-Times Books, 1992). This work went a long way toward explaining the complexity of the air war to those innocent of the problems associated with it. Its account of the ground war suffered from the proximity of that magazine's "War Horse," Joe Galloway, to the 24th Division commander; Galloway misread the organization of the theater command structure. *Triumph Without Victory*, nonetheless, began the worthwhile task of portraying the war from the perspective of those who fought Desert Storm. It also started the ill-considered debate about whether or not the apparent success had been suitably complete. This theme was taken up by others, like Jeffrey Record, in *Hollow Victory: A Contrary View of the Gulf War* (Washington, D.C.: Brasseys [U.S.], 1993). Record's book, however, was at least internally

consistent, whereas the *U.S. News*' conclusions seems an afterthought by an editor who had not read his own account before drawing sensational conclusions meant to hype his sales.

Among the best of the first wave of Gulf War books is Lawrence Freedman and Efraim Karsh's, *The Gulf Conflict 1990–1991: Diplomacy and War in the New World Order* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991). Freedman and Karsh still rely heavily upon Woodward, but they benefited from their experience of working on a television documentary that brought them together with a number of knowledgeable second-level governmental officials from the Bush administration. They also profited from their knowledge of Middle East regional newspapers and Soviet affairs, which permitted them to form a more global vision of the events leading up to the war, no less the problems of maintaining the coalition.

General Schwarzkopf's autobiographical account (with Peter Petre), *It Doesn't Take a Hero* (New York: Linda Grey, Bantam, 1992), appeared after a year. This highly tendentious and self-serving account may be true to the theater commander's view of the events of the war (and his earlier career), but it certainly lacks the virtues of statesmanship or objectivity. A much better firsthand account was written by General Peter de la Billiere, *Storm Command* (London: Harper Collins, 1992), an account not generally available in the United States. De la Billiere, by contrast with Schwarzkopf, is disarmingly candid and his evaluation of the theater commander is both admiring and critical. It remains the best firsthand account of the operation of the high command. Lieutenant General William ("Gus") Pagonis, the Army Support Command commander (and the only battlefield elevation—to Lieutenant General—among the senior Army officers in theater), provides a short account of the significant logistic challenges of the war. Coauthored with Jeffrey L. Cruikshank, *Moving Mountains* (Boston, 1992) was published, interestingly enough, by the Harvard Business School Press. Only about half the book actually deals with the war, and that is none too informative—except that there is nothing else on the subject.

To date, the best journalistic account is Rick Atkinson's *Crusade: The Untold Story of the Persian Gulf War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993). *Crusade* is exciting to read but suffers from its narrowness of focus. It begins with the start of the air combat and ignores for the most part the five and one-half month build-up that preceded it. Like most of its predecessors, it misses entirely the structure of the theater command by component. For those interested in war at the eyeball level, however, Atkinson is a splendid storyteller, and he was the first

(de la Billiere aside) to really address the influence of personality on the events of the conflict. The U.S. Army put a team together at Fort Monroe, Virginia, to place the Army's institutional view of the war on the record, with particular attention to the efforts of those who actually did the fighting. Led by Brigadier General Bob Scales, the team produced a splendid book with excellent graphics and photographs titled *Certain Victory* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, 1993). Finally, the Office of the Secretary of Defense assembled a massive and multivolume compendia in a report to Congress: *The Conduct of the Persian Gulf War, Final Report to Congress Pursuant to Title V of the Persian Gulf Conflict Supplemental Authorization and Personnel Benefits Act of 1991 (Public Law 102-25)*, issued in April 1993. To date, these books represent the field, with a number of other accounts addressing the role of air power and, particularly, the military relations, or lack of them, with the press.

For the most part, this present account has been based upon documentary sources assembled in the theater or upon return to the United States. The sources used are, with one exception, now housed in an archive run by the Combined Arms Command historian at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *Army Times* served as the newspapers of record. The one exception noted is the notes written for General Yeosock by Lieutenant Colonel Mike Kendall. These are deposited in Yeosock's papers at the Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

Documentary sources consisted, first of all, of documents produced at the time of the events they have been used to explain or, second, they were deliberately created memoirs drawn up after the fact as part of the Army's own effort to document how it accomplished what it did in the Persian Gulf. In the latter case, as my great and respected friend Lieutenant Colonel Dave Mock has reminded me pointedly, the planning organizations are better represented than the operators. Planners have more time after combat begins to reflect and record their views than do the operators, who continue to work up to the date of final departure. There is, thus, an undeniable tilt toward crediting the planning actions and a corresponding neglect of the minutia associated with the conduct of daily operations without which no plans achieve life.

Two categories of contemporary (as opposed to retrospective) records have been used widely. These are the daily situation reports, through which the Third Army commander (or normally his staff officers) told various higher headquarters how they saw the world on any given day, and the collection of briefing slides the commander

used to explain himself to his boss, the theater commander, both daily and for a variety of ad hoc purposes. The outsider can easily overlook the importance of briefing slides in an Army organization. They are the coin of dialog. Briefing slides summarize the affairs and arguments surrounding any issue. Staff officers spend a good bit of time finding the information they contain in a timely manner and, though one can sometimes doubt where the last significant digit may be on any particular slide, the information contained therein becomes reality for those who must decide. General Yeosock's personal staff maintained the slides he used in a disciplined and orderly fashion throughout the war and provided a complete set of the slides to the author. These have been of inestimable value, and their authors (especially Lieutenant Colonel Mat Kriwanek) are owed a large debt for their efforts.

The daily memoranda of the meetings the Army commander attended, prepared by Yeosock's executive officer, Lieutenant Colonel Mike Kendall, have also been an extraordinary source of information, particularly of the period after December 1990. Unit staff journals were generally indifferently kept and badly preserved. Most units made some effort to collect their operational records after the war, but initial consolidation efforts lacked energy. Many key records remain to be located. To energize the effort when it became clear that routine procedures were inadequate, General Frederick Franks, now Training and Doctrine Command commander, established a Gulf War Archive at Fort Leavenworth. Through his personal intervention and great effort, the VII Corps' after-action reports, including copies of key records, were sent to the archive to start the collection. Other record sets arrive daily, and the collection at Leavenworth is the most accessible and complete archive available to researchers who can meet clearance requirements or identify the records desired for declassification. The Combined Arms Command historian, Dr. Roddler Morris, and his staff have assembled and continue to build a number of finding aids to help in the identification of records for outside researchers.

Finally, a word about postwar accounts is called for. One of the primary sources for anyone interested in the actions of Third Army in the Gulf War is a set of narratives written and placed in large binders by the officers of the Third Army G3 Plans shop in the days after the war while they waited in Saudi Arabia for the return of the headquarters to the United States and their own dispersal back to the posts from which most had been drawn. This multivolume account covers all aspects of the planning process from the point of view of the majors and lieutenant colonels who did the spade work. They are

clearly written and accompanied, in most cases, by the documents necessary to understand their subject matter.

The VII Corps' unit after-action reports represent the largest volume of records in the Gulf War Archive, and many such reports are quite good (though some are less informative). There is a large archive at Fort Bragg of XVIII Corps' records that remains to be fully culled and organized. Anyone who believed in 1990 that electronic media would replace paper records was overly optimistic, for the Army in the Persian Gulf moved on its paper and xeroxed or reprinted the most routine documents in hundreds of copies. Record copies may never be properly established, and much that remains on computer disks may ultimately be lost, but there will be, nonetheless, a mountain of documentary evidence to support the various services' official histories whenever they are begun. Hopefully, this account, which is inevitably part memoir and part documented narrative, will help them understand what they find.

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